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**1975/10/31**

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Authority: NND979520

By: OP NARA Date: 12/2/97

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S E C R E T SENSITIVE/HANDLE VIA VOYAGER CHANNELS

PEKING 115 31 OCTOBER 1975  
 TO : SECRETARY KISSINGER  
 FROM : GEORGE BUSH  
 REF : PEKING 113

1. FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO CALLED ME IN MORNING OF  
 OCTOBER 31. HE READ FOLLOWING REPLY TO OUR OCTOBER 27  
 PRESENTATION:

"THE CHINESE SIDE HAS CAREFULLY STUDIED THE UNITED  
 STATES MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 27 AND ITS PROPOSED DRAFT JOINT  
 PRESS STATEMENT. THE REPLY OF THE CHINESE SIDE IS AS  
 FOLLOWS.

"THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES  
 ARE FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT AND THERE EXIST MAJOR DIFFERENCES  
 OF PRINCIPLE BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. NEVERTHELESS,  
 IN PRESENT TURBULENT WORLD SITUATION OUR TWO SIDES HAVE  
 CERTAIN COMMON POINTS. THESE WELL KNOWN FACTS REFLECT THE  
 PRESENT STATE OF US-CHINESE RELATIONS, HAVE BEEN THE BASIS  
 OF CONTACTS SINCE THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND THIS CONTINUES  
 AS THE BASIS AND BACKGROUND OF THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT FORD  
 TO CHINA. IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT WE HAVE ON MORE THAN ONE  
 OCCASION STATED OUR STAND WITH RESPECT TO THE VISIT.

"WE WELCOME THE US SIDE'S PROPOSAL FOR A VISIT TO CHINA  
 BY PRESIDENT FORD AND ARE PREPARED TO RECEIVE HIM WITH COURTESY.  
 IT WILL BE ALL RIGHT WHETHER OR NOT OUR HANDS MEET. THE US  
 SIDE SHOULD BE CLEARLY AWARE OF THIS AND NOT HARBOR ANY  
 ILLUSIONS.

"IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT STATE OF SINO-US RELATIONS  
 AND IN THE TRADITION OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, WE SUBMITTED  
 ON OCTOBER 22 A DRAFT JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON PRESIDENT FORD'S  
 VISIT TO CHINA. HAD THE US SIDE TAKEN A REALISTIC VIEW OF  
 PRESENT SINO-US RELATIONS, IT SHOULD NOT HAVE FOUND IT  
 DIFFICULT AT LEAST TO TAKE OUR DRAFT AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.  
 "ON A NUMBER OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND THE TAIWAN  
 ISSUE, IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE TWO SIDES TO STATE OUR  
 VIEWS SEPARATELY. IT IS UNJUSTIFIABLE TO TONE DOWN OR

\*\*\*\*\* OTHER COMMENT \*\*\*\*\*

HAK; GCHNCROFT, RODMAN, MCFARLANE

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ELIMINATE LANGUAGE ALLEGED BY THE US SIDE TO BE OFFENSIVE. DURING HIS VISIT IN 1972, PRESIDENT NIXON SAID THAT NEITHER OF THE TWO SIDES SHOULD ASK THE OTHER TO CHANGE ITS PRINCIPLED POSITION. WE APPRECIATE SUCH AN APPROACH.

"AS FOR THE DRAFT JOINT PRESS STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE US SIDE ON OCTOBER 27, FRANKLY IT IS NOT A PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE NORMAL NATURE. IN FACT, IT IS A REFURBISHED VERSION OF THE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE SUBMITTED BY THE US SIDE ON OCTOBER 22. THE NAME HAS BEEN CHANGED BUT NOT THE SUBSTANCE. THE PRESENT DRAFT STILL ATTEMPTS TO COVER UP DIFFERENCES IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND CREATES A FALSE IMPRESSION. THIS WILL SERVE NEITHER OF OUR INTERESTS. THE US SIDE HAS TAKEN OUT OF CONTEXT SENTENCES IN THE CHINESE DRAFT WHICH, AS A RESULT, HAVE LOST THEIR ORIGINAL MEANING. FOR INSTANCE, THE WORDING ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE DISMEMBERS CHINA'S PRINCIPLED POSITION. FOR THE ABOVE REASONS, THIS UNITED STATES DRAFT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE CHINESE SIDE.

"WE WOULD LIKE TO REITERATE THAT IF THERE IS TO BE A JOINT COMMUNIQUE, IT MUST FAITHFULLY REFLECT SINO-US RELATIONS AND THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES. THEREFORE, WE HOPE THAT THE US SIDE WILL RECONSIDER THE CHINESE DRAFT. IF IT HAS ANY AMENDMENTS TO SUGGEST ON SPECIFIC WORDING, WE ARE READY TO LISTEN.

"AS FOR THE PATTERN AND THE ESSENCE, WE MUST BE CONSISTENT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO A COUNTER-PROPOSAL FROM THE US SIDE ON THIS BASIS.

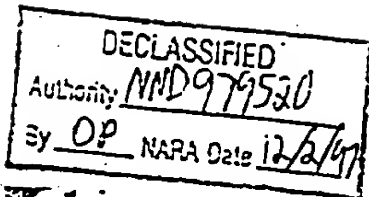
"WITH REGARD TO THE PART IN THE US MESSAGE ABOUT DATES AND PLACE OF PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT AND THE TIME OF HIS ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE FROM PEKING, WE KNOW THE CONSIDERATIONS OF THE US SIDE AND RAISE NO OBJECTIONS.

"THE FOREGOING IS THE REPLY FROM THE CHINESE SIDE AND I HOPE YOU WILL REPORT TO THE US SIDE IMMEDIATELY."

2. I ASSURED CHIAO I WOULD DO SO. I THEN RAISED A QUESTION FOR CLARIFICATION, ASKING IF CHIAO'S REPLY INDICATES THAT NO FORM OF PRESS STATEMENT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE CHINESE SIDE. CHIAO REPLIED: "AS I HAVE MADE VERY CLEAR, THE DRAFT JOINT PRESS STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE US SIDE IS NOT A PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE NORMAL NATURE. SO I BELIEVE IF YOU WILL MAKE A SERIOUS STUDY OF THE CHINESE SIDE'S REPLY, YOU WILL UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION."

3. DCM THAYER ACCOMPANIED ME. CHIAO WAS FLANKED, AS ON OCTOBER 27, BY NANCY YANG, YING, CHAO AND SHIH.

4. COMMENT: IN MY OPINION WE ARE NOT GOING TO GET ANY EARLY AGREEMENT TO A SATISFACTORY JOINT COMMUNIQUE OR JOINT PRESS STATEMENT CONTAINING ANY SUBSTANCE. MY OWN JUDGMENT IS THAT AT THIS POINT WE SHOULD ADVISE CHIAO THAT WE ARE AGREEABLE TO NO STATEMENT WHATSOEVER OR TO A VERY SIMPLE



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PRESS COMMUNIQUE WHICH WOULD SET OUT THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE VISIT: WHO THE PRESIDENT SAW, WHERE HE WENT, ETC., AND PERHAPS INCLUDE A SENTENCE OR TWO ON "FRANK AND FRIENDLY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS," AND REFERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

END PAGE 2

5. IF WE ADOPT THE "NO COMMUNIQUE, NO STATEMENT" POSTURE, WE WILL NEED TO DO SOME GROUNDWORK IN THE USA TO LAY TO REST THE "JUNKET" CRITICISM THAT KEEPS SURFACING. THIS CAN BEST BE DONE, IN MY OPINION, BY STRESSING THE FOUR-YEAR INTERVAL SINCE OUR TOP LEADERS HAVE MET.

6. IF THERE IS ANY MAGIC TO A NOVEMBER 3 ANNOUNCEMENT, I THINK WE SHOULD HAVE INSTRUCTION BY 8 AM PEKING TIME TOMORROW (NOVEMBER 1) SO THAT I CAN GET BACK TO THE CHINESE, HOWEVER, CHIAO, OF COURSE, IS BUSY WITH THE SCHMIDT VISIT, AND WE CANNOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT HE WILL BE GOING TOMORROW TO NANKING AND/OR URUMCHI WITH THE CHANCELLOR.

7. I WILL FORWARD MY VIEWS ON THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE VISIT IN A SEPARATE CABLE.

8. WARM REGARDS.

GEORGE BUSH

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